D.O.8/39

(1)

REPORT

FROM

Committee of Secrecy.

MR. SPEAKER,

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed to take into conſideration the papers preſented to the Houſe on the twenty-ninth day of April laſt by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pelham, have directed me to report as follows:

YOUR Committee having taken into their conſideration the papers referred to them, have thought it conſiſtent with their duty to carry their enquiries back to the period of the commencement of the ſocieties ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen.

It appears that ſoon after the French Revolution certain individuals, encouraged by the example of France,

aimed at the overthrow of the exiſting laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, and the eſtabliſhment of a republic unconnected with Great Britain: that they have been encouraged to proceed to this attempt by an expectation of aid from France, and the co-operation of certain diſaffected and ſeditious ſocieties in Great Britain entertaining ſimilar views.

It appears to your Committee that their hopes of ſucceſs in this apparently improbable deſign are derived from their expectations of being able to infuſe into the minds of the lower orders of the people an idea that they are in a ſtate of oppreſſion and miſery: that the King, the Houſes of Lords and Commons, with the magiſtracy, clergy and gentry of the country, are the cauſe of their oppreſſion: that the ſociety of United Iriſhmen are their ſole protectors and defenders; and that the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is inconſiſtent with the happineſs and independence of this kingdom.

It appears to your Committee that to effect their purpoſes they have organized with great addreſs and ſupported with equal activity a ſyſtem plauſible in its name, and which by a combination of certain ſpecious propoſitions with principles deſtructive of the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, leads in a manner the moſt inſidious to anarchy, confiſcation of property, and the extermination of its proprietors.

It appears to your Committee that in the original formation of this ſociety, its authors, to avoid alarming the feelings of thoſe who were not prepared at once to go to the full extent of their dangerous and traitorous deſigns, held forth Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform as the oſtenſible objects of their union: but their real purpoſes were to ſeparate Great Britain from Ireland and to ſubvert the preſent conſtitution, as will appear more fully from the following explanation given by

by Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the original framers of the inſtitution, in a letter addreſſed to his friends at Belfaſt, and containing the reſolutions and declarations upon which the inſtitution was formed: Appendix No. I.

" The foregoing contain my true and ſincere opinion " of the ſtate of this country, ſo far as in the preſent " juncture it may be adviſeable to publiſh it. They " certainly fall ſhort of the truth, but truth itſelf muſt " ſometimes condeſcend to temporize; my unalterable " opinion is that the bane of Iriſh proſperity is in the " influence of England; I believe that influence will " ever be extended while the connection between the " two countries continues; nevertheleſs, as I know that " opinion is for the preſent too hardy, though a very " little time may eſtabliſh it univerſally, I have not " made it a part of the reſolutions; I have only propoſed " to ſet up a reformed parliament as a barrier againſt " that miſchief which every honeſt man that will open " his eyes muſt ſee in every inſtance overbears the in- " tereſt of Ireland: I have not ſaid one word that looks " like a wiſh for ſeparation, though I give it to you " and your friends as my moſt decided opinion that " ſuch an event would be a regeneration to this " country.

" I have, you will ſee, alluded to the reſolutions of the " Whig club, and I have differed with them in degree " only, that is, I think and I am ſure they do not go " far enough; they are not ſincere friends to the po- " pular cauſe; they dread the people as much as the " caſtle does; it may be objected that an implied diffe- " rence of ſentiment between them and the people will " weaken both: I think otherwiſe; if they do not join " you in ſupporting a reform in parliament they do not " deſerve ſupport themſelves; apply the touchſtone, if " they ſtand the trial, well; if they fail, they are falſe " and hollow, and the ſooner they are detected the " better; what ſignifies peddling with their ſuperficial meaſures?

" meaſures? They are good ſo far as they go, but for
" the people to ſpend their ſtrength in purſuit of ſuch
" would be juſt as wiſe as for a man who has a mortifi-
" cation in his bowels to be very ſolicitous about a
" plaiſter for his ſore finger. To be candid, I dare ſay
" that my Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty ſure that
" Mr. Grattan, would heſitate very much at the reſolu-
" tions which I ſend; but I only beg you will diſmiſs
" your reſpect for great names; read over the reſolu-
" tions and what I have now ſaid, and then determine
" impartially between us. I have alluded to the ca-
" tholics, but ſo remotely as I hope not to alarm the
" moſt cautious proteſtant; it is wicked nonſenſe to
" talk of a reform in Ireland in which they ſhall not
" have their due ſhare.

" I have in the third reſolution conceded very far
" indeed to what I conſider as vulgar and ignorant
" prejudices: look at France and America; the Pope
" burnt in effigy at Paris; the Engliſh catholics at this
" very hour ſeceding from his church. A thouſand ar-
" guments crowd on me, but it is unneceſſary here to
" dwell on them. I hope you will find this reſolution
" ſufficiently guarded and cool. I have been purpoſely
" vague and indefinite, and I muſt ſay men who would
" ſeek a reform, and omit that indiſpenſable ſtep, have
" different notions both of expediency and juſtice from
" any that I can conceive.

" I think the beſt opportunity for publiſhing them
" will be on the 14th of July; I learn there is to be a
" commemoration of the French revolution, that morning
" ſtar of liberty to Ireland. The volunteers, if they ap-
" proved of the plan, may then adopt it, and I have ſo
" worded it as to leave them an opportunity. I have
" left as you ſee a blank for the name."

It

It appears that a ſociety, calling themſelves a ſociety of united Iriſhmen in Dublin, did on the 9th day of November 1791 take as their declaration that of a ſimilar ſociety in Belfaſt, which nearly correſponds with the plan of Mr. Tone, with the addition of a teſt to be taken by the members. Appendix, No. II.

It appears that this ſociety did actually meet and correſpond with certain ſeditious ſocieties in Great Britain, and in furtherance of their deſigns of ſeparating the kingdoms and alienating the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland, did repreſent, in different publications, the connexion as oppreſſive and tyrannical.

Your committee then directed their enquiries to the means by which the papers referred to them in conſequence of the Lord Lieutenant's meſſage had been procured; and in order the better to aſcertain the credit to be given to their contents they examined the perſons by whom they had been taken, from whence it appears that upon information being given of certain ſocieties or committees being appointed to aſſemble at the houſe of John Alexander in the town of Belfaſt at the hour of eight o'clock on Friday the 14th of April laſt, Colonel Barber, with a detachment of the army, went to the ſaid houſe, where two ſocieties were then actually ſitting.

Mr. Fox, ſtore-keeper of the ordnance, under the direction of Colonel Barber, entered one of the rooms in which one of the committees or ſocieties was ſitting, with their papers before them, round a table, and their ſecretary in the chair; and it appears in the minute-book that the ſociety had adjourned from the 9th to the 14th of April, the day on which they were arreſted, to ſit at the ſaid houſe.

Lieutenant Elliſon of the Artillery entered another room in the ſame houſe where another committee was ſitting; the papers belonging to that committee or ſociety were in the hat of a perſon who ſat at the head of the table, and appears from the papers to have been the ſecretary of that ſociety.

At the ſame time Mr. Atkinſon, high conſtable of Belfaſt, found concealed in another room of the ſame houſe, papers purporting to belong to another committee or ſociety, viz. the eightieth ſociety.

Theſe papers conſiſt of,

1. The printed declaration and conſtitution of the united Iriſhmen.

2. Minutes of the proceedings of two of the Societies.

3. Reports from provincial and county committees.

4. A report from the military committee.

5. Forms of the oath of an officer and of a ſoldier.

6. Names of ſome of the ſociety, with the arms that they poſſeſs.

7. Size roll of the ſociety.

8. A liſt of the families that have received relief.

9. Reſolutions of the united ſocieties of Donoghadee and its vicinity.

10. Other looſe notes and papers of their proceedings.

It appears to your committee that the declaration is the ſame as that adopted by the United Iriſhmen in one

one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-one and the conſtitution formed upon the principles recommended in an addreſs of the ſociety of united Iriſhmen in Dublin to the Iriſh nation, William Drennan in the chair, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, ſecretary, in which it is ſtated, "Truſt as little to your friends as to your "enemies in a matter where you can act only by "yourſelves; the will of the nation muſt be declared "before any reform ought to take place; it is not "therefore any claſs however numerous, any ſociety "however reſpectable, any ſubaltern aſſembly, that "have either right or competency to expreſs that au-"thoritative will; nothing leſs than the people can "ſpeak for the people; this competency reſides not "in a few freeholders ſhivering in the corner of a "county hall, but only in the whole community repre-"ſented in each county (as at preſent in Antrim) by "parochial delegation, and then from each county by "baronial delegation to provincial conventions, the "union of which muſt form the awful will of the "people of Ireland."

The conſtitution is as follows:

CONSTITUTION.

1ſt. This ſociety is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights and an union of power among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legiſlature founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty.

2d. The members of this ſociety ſhall either be ordinary or honorary, and ſhall not be limited to any deſcription of men, but to extend to all perſons who may be deemed eligible.

3d. Every candidate for admiſſion into this ſociety ſhall be propoſed by one member and ſeconded by another, both of whom ſhall vouch for his character and principles and whoſe name ſhall be entered on the books of the ſociety; the candidate to be balloted for on the ſociety's ſubſequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black, he ſhall ſtand rejected.

4th. As a fund is neceſſary, the better to carry into effect the purpoſe of this aſſociation, each member on his admiſſion ſhall pay to the ſociety the ſum of and per month while he ſhall continue a member.

5th. The officers of this ſociety ſhall be a ſecretary and treaſurer, who ſhall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every firſt meeting in November, February, May and Auguſt.

6th. This ſociety in manner aforeſaid ſhall appoint two members, who with the ſecretary ſhall act for the ſociety in a baronial committee, which members ſhall receive on each night of their attendance on ſaid committee.

7th. This ſociety ſhall in manner aforeſaid appoint members, who with the treaſurer ſhall form a committee of finance, &c.

8th. At the requeſt of either committees, or any members ſigning a requiſition, the ſecretary or if he ſhall be abſent the treaſurer ſhall call an extra meeting of the ſociety.

9th. This ſociety ſhall meet in ordinary every ſecond evening at o'clock, the preſident to be choſen by a majority of the members preſent of whom ſhall be a quorum.

10th.

10th. Every reſpect and deference ſhall be paid to the chairman. On his riſing from his ſeat and taking off his hat, there ſhall be ſilence, and the members ſeated. He ſhall be judge of order and propriety; ſhall grant leave of abſence at pleaſure; ſhall not enter into debate. If any member behave improperly he is empowered to direct an apology, or if refractory fine him in any ſum not exceeding and on refuſal to do as directed he ſhall therefore be expelled the ſociety for

11th. No member ſhall ſpeak more than twice to one queſtion, without leave from the chairman.

12th. Every perſon elected a member of this ſociety, whether ordinary or honorary, ſhall previous to his admiſſion take the following *Teſt* in a ſeparate apartment in preſence of the perſons who propoſed and ſeconded him, and one member appointed by the chairman; or in caſe of abſence of one of the two perſons, the chairman ſhall appoint another member to act for the abſentee, after which the new member ſhall be brought into the body of the ſociety, and there take the teſt in the uſual form.

TEST.

In the awful preſence of God.

I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among IRISHMEN of *every* religious perſuaſion, and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full and adequate repreſentation of *all* the people of Ireland.

I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence againſt any member or members of this or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or in-

 dividually,

dividually, in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation.

13th. A member of any other acknowledged ſociety, being introduced to this ſociety by a member, ſhall, upon producing a certificate, ſigned by the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſociety to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing teſt, be admitted to attend the ſittings of this ſociety.

14th. No member ſhall have a certificate but by applying to the committee, who ſhall not grant it unleſs the member is leaving his place of reſidence, which certificate ſhall be lodged with the ſecretary on his return.

15th. When this ſociety ſhall amount to the number of thirty-ſix members, it ſhall be equally divided by lot*; that is, the names of all the members ſhall be put into a hat or box, the ſecretary or treaſurer ſhall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen ſhall be conſidered the ſenior ſociety, and the remaining eighteen the junior, who ſhall apply to the baronial committee, through the delegates of the ſenior ſociety, for a number, and that this diviſion ſhall take place only in the months of October, January, April and July.—The fund ſhall alſo be equally divided.

16th. That no ſociety ſhall be recognized by any committee, unleſs approving of, and taking the teſt, and amounting in number to ſeven members.

Order of Buſineſs at Meetings.

1ſt. New members read declaration and teſt, during which, ſubſcriptions to be collected.

* *Societies in country places to divide as may beſt ſuit their local ſituation.*

2d.

2d. New members take the teſt, all members ſtanding and uncovered.

3d. Minutes of preceding meeting read.

4th. Reports of committees received.

5th. Communications called for.

6th. Candidates balloted for.

7th. Candidates propoſed.

8th. Motions made and determined.

9th. Place and time of next meeting appointed.

CONSTITUTION of COMMITTEES,
As adopted the 10th of May.

Baronial Committees.

1ſt. When any barony or other diſtrict ſhall contain three or more ſocieties, three perſons from each ſhall be elected by ballot, conformable to the ſixth article, to form a baronial committee (for three months:) their names to be returned to the ſecretary of the ſenior ſociety, who ſhall requeſt a deputation from the neareſt baronial committee to conſtitute a committee for the ſaid barony or other diſtrict.

2d. When any barony or diſtrict ſhall contain eight ſocieties, they may form another committee, to be called the ſecond committee of ſaid barony or diſtrict, provided each contains three or more ſocieties.

3d. Baronial committees ſhall receive delegates from ocieties of a contiguous barony, provided ſaid barony do not contain three ſocieties.

4th.

4th. That the baronial committee ſhall correſpond with ſocieties or individuals who have ſubſcribed the declaration and taken the teſt of the preſent aſſociated ſocieties.

5th. That all queſtions ſhall be determined by a majority of the members preſent.

6th. That the baronial committee being regularly ſummoned, the one third of its members ſhall be deemed a quorum, and capable of proceeding to buſineſs.

7th. That any buſineſs originating in any individual ſociety, ſhall at the inſtance of ſuch ſociety's delegates be by the baronial committee laid before the other ſocieties.

County Committees.

1ſt. When any county ſhall contain three or more baronial committees, two perſons ſhall be elected by ballot from each baronial committee to form a county committee (for three months).

2d. County committees ſhall receive delegates from baronial committees of adjacent counties, if ſaid counties do not contain three baronial committees.

Provincial Committees.

1ſt. When two or more counties ſhall have county committees, three perſons ſhall be elected by ballot from each to form a provincial committee (for three months).

2d. Delegates from county committees in other provinces will be received, if ſuch provinces do not contain two county committees.

National

" National Committee.

" That when two provincial committees are formed " they ſhall elect five perſons from each by ballot, to " form a national committee.

" N. B. Society's firſt meetings in November, Fe- " bruary, May and Auguſt, to be on or before the " 5th; baronial committees on or before the 8th; " county committees on or before the 15th, and pro- " vincial committees on or before the 25th of the above " months.

" Baronial, county and provincial committees ſhall " meet at leaſt once in every month, and report to " their conſtituents.

" Names of committee-men ſhould not be known " by any perſon but thoſe who elect them.

" Teſt for ſecretaries of ſocieties or committees.

" In the awful preſence of God,

" I *A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that as long as I " ſhall hold the office of ſecretary to this " I will to the utmoſt of my abilities faithfully diſ- " charge the duties thereof.

" That all papers or documents received by me as " ſecretary I will in ſafety keep; I will not give any " of them or any copy or copies of them to any perſon " or perſons, members or others, but by a vote of " this and that " I will at the expiration of my ſecretaryſhip deliver " up to this all ſuch " papers as may be then in my poſſeſſion.

CERTIFICATE.

"Society of United Iriſhmen of

"I hereby certify that *A. B.* has been duly elected, "and having taken the teſt provided in the conſti- "tution, has been admittted a member of this ſo- "ciety."

Your committee think it neceſſary to point out a manifeſt and ſtriking diſtinction in the teſt annexed to the original declaration of the United Iriſhmen and that annexed to this conſtitution, and which corroborates the opinion your committee have already given that reform of parliament was only a colourable object to work on the minds of the people, but that their real object was the overthrow of the conſtitution.

The original teſt holds forth a repreſentation of the Iriſh nation in parliament, and a reform of that parliament.

The preſent teſt, which your committee find to be the one univerſally adopted in the ſocieties of which they have received information, and under which all the United Iriſhmen are at preſent ſworn, purpoſely omits the words, parliament and reform, thereby clearly ſhewing, that an original inſtitution independant of parliament is the object, which is ſtill farther proved by the reports and communications between the committees and ſocieties, in which they mention an executive committee, under the authority of which they ſeem to act.

It appears to your committee that the conſtitution ſo recommended is in a great meaſure carried into effect, and that ſuch committees do exiſt.

That

That ſecretaries have been elected in theſe ſocieties; that committee-men have been appointed; that monthly contributions have been levied; that a treaſurer has been appointed; that perſons have been named to purchaſe pikes; that it was reſolved to furniſh pikes at the expence of the ſociety for thoſe who could not afford to purchaſe them; that perſons have been interrogated for their conduct; that reports have been received and approved of; that a military committee has been appointed; that returns of arms, ammunition and men are made to the military committee; and that officers have been appointed, will appear from the following entries in the minute-book of the ſociety, ſeized by Mr. Fox.

Entries in the Minute Book, No. 2, ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, Page 6, 7, and 8.

Reſolved, that the ſecretary ſhall be known by the name of 54th ſecretary of United Irishmen of Belfaſt.

James Burnſide elected ſecretary, Pat. Handlam and John Atkinſon committee men.

Reſolved, that we will pay into the baronial committee 2s. 8½d. per month.

Edward Kelly and Terence M'Cann along with the treaſurer appointed to attend a committee of finance.

James Burnſide elected Treaſurer.

Oct. 31ſt 1796.

At a Meeting held in John Alexander's,
Richard M'Gee, Chair.

Reſolved, that three men be appointed to purchaſe pikes and poles for this ſociety—James Burnſide, Pat. M'Stravock and Richard M'Gee were appointed.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, that any man that fairly tells any of theſe three appointed that he is not able to purchaſe a pike, that he ſhall be furniſhed with one out of the fund of this ſociety.

Reſolved, that we meet at Crozier's in Union-ſtreet at eight o'Clock on Sunday 6th November in the morning.

Crozier's, 6 Nov. 1796.

Edward Kelly, Chairman.

James Burnſide elected ſecretary.

Edward Kelly and Terence M'Cann were appointed committee men to attend the ninth diviſion.

Reſolved, that John Barret be interrogated who was the perſon gave him the word and ſign.

Reſolved, that if John Barret does not tell who it was that gave him the word and ſign, and take the oath that is neceſſary, he ſhall be excluded this ſociety.

Reſolved, that each member ſhall ſpend two pence each night of meeting.

Page 10.

January 1ſt 1797.

Richard M'Gee, Chairman.

Reſolved, that all money or ſubſcription received for this ſociety ſhall go to the uſe of buying pikes.

Page 11.

Page 11.

Nickles's, 22d January 1797.

Reſolved, that we approve of the reports that we have received from the committee.

Reſolved, that E. Kelly and R. M'Gee does attend the civil committee for this enſuing three months.

February 5th 1797.

Edward Clements, Chairman.

Reſolved, that we approve of the report we have now heard read.

Page 12.

Reſolved, that we will not receive any other perſon from the military committee but ſuch as we have appointed.

Reſolved, that Wm. Stewart get a copy of this reſolution to lay before the committee.

Sunday, 19th Feb. 1797.

John Milton, Chairman.

Reſolved, that we will ballot for two new members to attend the military committee in the place of Wm. Stewart and Richd. M'Gee.

Reſolved, that John Miller and Thomas Hanlon does attend the military committee till further order of this ſociety.

Page 13.

Reſolved, that James M'Donald gets a copy of the arms, ammunition and men belonging to this ſociety to lay before the M. Committee.

Young's Tavern.

E. Kelly, Chairman.

Reſolved, that the reports which we have now received from the committee is apd. of by this ſociety.

Page 14.

Reſolved, by this ſociety that each member who does not attend after legal warning ſhall be expelled this ſociety.

Reſolved by this ſociety, that the military officers ſhall get a liſt of the men's names belonging to this ſociety to lay before the military committee.

Page 15.

Morriſon's, 2d April.

John Milton, Chairman.

Reſolved, that the officers ſhall get a liſt of the men's names under their command.

Alexander's, 9th April.

Page 16.

Reſolved, that John Milton gets a caution from E. Kelly that he is clear of the charge laid againſt him.

Reſolved, that we meet on Friday next in John Alexander's at 8 o'clock.

It has appeared in evidence that the communication between the different ſocieties and committees is carried on by means of the ſecretaries and delegates who take notes of what paſſes in order to report to and from the higher and lower ſocieties, and by this means the repreſentations and opinions of the inferior ſocieties are communicated

communicated to their ſuperiors, and the orders and inſtructions from the higher ſocieties and committees are conveyed to the inferior ones.

It appears in evidence that the reports are not entered on the minutes, but uſually deſtroyed after being read by the ſecretary.

Your committee think it neceſſary for the information of the houſe to ſtate at length the following papers, which will in a great meaſure develope the ſyſtem upon which theſe ſocieties proceed, and appear to be reports made by ſecretaries.

Paper writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Atkinſon,

No. 7.

Reſolutions of the United Societies of Donaghadee and its Vicinity.

1ſt. Reſolved, that it has always been the invariable opinion of all ſound philoſophers, ſtateſmen and divines, that all power is radically in the people.

2d. Reſolved, that when tyrants, uſurpers and oppreſſors, graſping at domination, or even ſuch as are legally delegated by the people, degenerate into tyrants, or act contrary to the truſt committed to them, in that caſe the people ought to claim their right, and the power return to its original channel.

3d. Reſolved, that at the preſent criſis the people being united ſhould alſo arm, chooſe their officers and take a firſt, ſecond and third requiſition of ſuch as are able to go forth to war in defence of their rights as men.

4th.

4th. Reſolved, that our brethren in arms be duly provided for with ſuch things as their caſe and ſituation requires, and that means be adopted that their families may not ſuffer in their abſence.

5th. Reſolved, that to anſwer ſuch emergencies a contribution be impoſed upon the people in general according to their reſpective circumſtances; rents and tythes ſhall alſo be conſidered, the latter of which, except in the preſent emergency, ſhall for ever be aboliſhed.

6th. Reſolved, that there are a great many inimical and will no doubt prove hoſtile to the cauſe of liberty; their eſtates or property ſhall be confiſcated and converted to the national benefit.

7th. Reſolved, that the civil law muſt always be kept up and proper men appointed to prevent outrage in the country, and theſe men to be aſſiſted by a military force when called upon, and that ſaid men ſhall take proper meaſures to ſupport both the inhabitants and military with proper neceſſaries.

8th. Reſolved, that there ſhall be a national (or if it be thought more eligible) a provincial fund, where the property of the enemy ſhall be depoſited, and that drafts for the above purpoſes ſhall be made as neceſſity ſhall require.

9th. Reſolved, that any avowed enemy to the cauſe ſhall not have admittance into the ranks when it makes its appearance, but ſhall be taken as priſoners and tried by a jury according to the law then exiſting, and if found guilty their property diſpoſed of according to ſaid law.

10th. Reſolved, that farmers or ſuch as poſſeſs a redundancy of victualling ſhall bring it forward to ſale, and

and the families of ſuch as are called off in the cauſe of their country, ſhall be ſupplied thereby at a moderate price, which ſhall be agreed on by the revolutionary committee or fit men delegated by them.

11th. Reſolved, that the wounded, the widow and fatherleſs of ſuch as have fought in the cauſe of their country, ſhall be provided for or ſupported from the aforeſaid fund.

12th. Reſolved, that there ſhall be an aſſociation under the name and deſignation of a Revolutionary Committee, compoſed of the beſt qualified and moſt reſpectable characters, viz. one man choſen from each ſociety and delegated by ſaid ſociety to meet together, who ſhall keep and enforce the above reſolutions, and take care that they be carried into effect and duly executed whenever the cauſe ſhall require.

13th. Reſolved, that to act in concert with the revolutionary committee, there ſhall be magiſtrates appointed and veſted with executive power, which ſhall continue in office for the ſpace of ſix months only, except in caſe of re-election; but if a revolution is accompliſhed an annual election ſhall take place.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Lieutenant Elliſon,

No. 7.

Reports from the Baronial Committee.

			£.	s.	d.
Men, Antrim	22922	Money	78	6	8
Down	16000	-	40	11	8

			£.	s.	d.
Men, Derry	10000	Money	8	5	9
Tyrone	6860	-	—	—	—
Armagh	4000	-	7	8	5
Monaghan	3020	-	—	—	—
Donegal	5000	-	9	9	7
Cavan	1000	-	—	—	—
Meath	1776	-	—	—	—
Fermanagh	2000	-	—	—	—
Louth	2060	-	—	—	—
Total men -	72206		144	2	1½
Paid to Antrim Prisoners		-	78	6	8
Down Do.		-	11	7	6
Fermanagh Do.		-	7	19	3
a Delegate of Tyrone		-	2	5	6
			99	18	11
Balance		-	44	3	2½

The

The following counties are formed into another provincial committee, viz. Weſtmeath, Kildare, Dublin City; the above counties are organized and are coming on well. Dublin is divided into four diſtricts; your executive committee give no other reports than the organizing the above; not having met lately, there will a report be at next meeting of your provincial committee. Newry citizens have been very liberal, they voted £21 11ſ. as private ſubſcription in addition to the large voluntary ones forwarded to their country; they employed a delegate to Cavan and Leinſter counties, where they formed a number of ſocieties; they promiſe to do well; caſh £17. There is a Capt St. Leger of the 24th dragoons at preſent in Armagh for being an active U. I. M. to which they ſent £4 11ſ. to be divided among his party that is confined; he has a wife and four children; his pay was taken from him, nor was he allowed to diſpoſe of his commiſſion. Recommended that all monthly ſubſcriptions of counties be counted as if going to the provincial committee, that is to ſay, reſerving a power to the counties diſcretion whatever ſum they may think neceſſary to grant their priſoners at. Balance to be paid to the provincial committee, which will ſhew at once the ſum paid by each committee, likewiſe that there will be a monthly return of U. I. M. confined in each county, and what is allowed for their ſupport; the county of Tyrone is much confuſed at preſent, owing to ſome their county members confined at preſent there; twenty-five men confined, not many the laſt month to ſupport there; one there was, ſeven guineas voted to their ſupport; they promiſed a return for this in another month; there was ſeveral petitions received from Kildare, and it is warmly recommended to the different counties to bring ſomething forward for their ſupport; laſt provincial meeting county Down delegates reported, that William Briſtow of this town has a provincial account of laſt meeting previous to the ſub-committee: Belfaſt therefore be cautious, for ſome ſecretary is certainly deceiving us; the old word and

ſign

ſign of U. I. Men is aboliſhed to further orders. Louth delegates reported, that two men from Belfaſt, Denis Digney and Robert Rowny, behaved very ill, and was very near diſorganizing ſaid county on account of making uſe of lying reports and words and things of their making; your provincial committee dont approve of the reports of the county reſpecting new code of laws being quite too premature, your execc have that to do or to frame them; Armagh have appointed five to ſupport their priſoners; Monaghan delegates have a conſiderable ſum of money, but being ſo young in the buſineſs did not know how to bring it forward. but will on the next meeting; the city of Dublin is doing well; ſent to Newry for five conſtitutions, and going on regular and is collecting money; will pay as ſoon as poſſible for the forwarding the buſineſs in the upper part of the county of Meath and Kildare; Dr. C q. take from Newry fifteen conſtitutions to the county Kildare, and promiſed to diſtribute them there with much attention; the delegates thought it proper to give in the ſums of money ſubſcribed by you to the provincial committee, being well aware of the numerous complaints made againſt your county for neglecting bringing forward money ſubſcribed monthly; the treaſurer of county Louth in Dublin; county of Antrim is far deficient reſpecting the monthly ſubſcription, for the county Down on an everage pays not leſs than £90 per month to priſoners and provincial county.

Repoit

Report of the County of Antrim.

Belfast.

Men 2,639

526 Guns

399 Bayonets

88 Piſtols

567 Pikes

12,130 Ball Cars.

15,953 Balls

566 Powder

6 Canons

1 Mortar

County total 23,059

2,659 Guns

982 Bayonets

204 Piſtols

2,348 Pikes

85 Swords

18,235 Ball Cars.

2,358 Balls

628½ Powder

8 Canons

1 Mortar

Paper ſeized and identified by Mr. Ellſon,

No. 2.

7th December.

2434 Men repreſented in Belfaſt—248 guns—212 bayonets—19 piſtols—32 ſwords—120 pikes—8027 rounds of ball-cartridge—82 pounds of powder—16 ſetts of belts and 2 forkes.

COUNTY REPORTS.

20184 Men, 1179 guns, 255 bayonets, 35 piſtols, 37 ſwords, 8743 ball-cartridge in the ſeveral baronies repreſented in the County Committee.

			£.	s.	d.
Upper Belfaſt	- - paid		10	10	4
Lower ditto	- - -		1	8	11
Upper Mazareen	- - -		2	1	8
Lower ditto	- - - -		14	15	9
Upper Antrim	- -		3	2	0
Lower ditto	- -		5	1	4½
Upper Toom	- -		3	8	3
Lower ditto	- -		18	4	8½
Lower Dunluſe	-		1	14	1½
Upper Glenarm	- -		1	10	6
Lower Toom paid as voluntary ſubſcription			4	1	—
		£	65	18	7½

The above money was paid the county committee.

PRO-

PROVINCIAL REPORTS.

County of.				Voluntary. £	s.	d.		s.	d.
Antrim	19256	For which they paid		29	17	5½	19	17	6
Downe	12556			27	2	5½			
Derry	8000			16	16	10½			
Donegal	3000			4	2	4			
Tyrone	6500			21	12	3	12	10	3
Louth	1300			3	6	8			
Armagh	2500	paid nothing							
Monaghan	2500	ditto							
Cavan	800	ditto							
Meeth	1776	ditto							
Fermanagh	1500	ditto							
	59688 men			100	18	—½	32	7	9

Your Provincial Committee reported that your Executive committee did not act properly, in conſequence of which your Provincial ſtripped of all their powers and diſſolved them, and formed a new one; but to prevent the men that compoſed your Ex. C. to have any excuſe, your Provincial C. elected two-thirds of the old members for three months, and if they do not act as your Provincial C. thinks right, they will turn them

them out and put new ones in their place—the other third are men of reſpectability and honour, and they come under your Provincial C. inſpection and are accountable to your Provincial C. for money and meaſures; ſome one handed in a report to p^r. as follows: recommending to U. I—n to be very circumſpect in their conduct, as the only wiſh of Government was to goad us into inſurrection, by which means they would have it in their power to put us down, never to riſe, at leaſt for a century, and likewiſe we have paid a great deal of money to the people in gaol and it will take a large ſum of money to aſſiſt them all winter; we requeſt the Co^e. to allow us to take our ſuperior officers for our body from the South, of the beſt men, but notwithſtanding the treatment your Provincial received from your Ex. C^e. your Provincial C. acted with great caution and prudence; in conſequence of people being diſappointed ſo often in coming from the fartheſt parts of this kingdom to Belfaſt for conſtitutions they allow them to be printed in three parts of this kingdom; they recommend to all U. I—n not to buy any thing from deſpots if they can poſſibly help it—your Provincial C. earneſtly recommends to all U. I—n to keep from intoxication—they promiſed to give to the county the number of defenders in Ireland—a defender up the country promiſed to give four thouſand guineas for the uſe of the U. I—n, and all he aſks is three or four of the U. I—n as ſecurity for that ſum.—Reported in the county C. that the Privy Council of Ireland ſummoned the titlar biſhops and bribed them with 500 guineas, and deſired them to ſummon the prieſts, and the prieſts for to do all in their power to find out if any of their hearers was U. I—n, or held any converſation with the like, and if there was any that was or did ſo to excommunicate them from the church.—Your county C. thinks that if there is any U. I—n on the jury that will commit any of the priſoners that is confined for being U. I—n ought to loſe their exiſtence—the Orange men in the county of Tyrone are taking the arms from the defenders.

A member

A member of your County C. called a meeting of the ſame to petition Parliament for a reform of Parliament, but all the members except a few were utterly againſt any ſuch thing.

BELFAST, BARONIAL REPORTS.

1ſt battalion of military came to a reſolution to divide into diviſions, each diviſion to compoſe three ſocieties, and out of them to appoint 1 Captain 2 Lieutenants, the reſt to be Sergeants.

Reſolved that the 6th diviſion gets four Conſtitution, three of them to ſend up the country. — Reſolved that the 8 diviſion be granted one Conſtitution for the 80 ſociety.—Reſolved, that the 3d diviſion be granted one do. for the priſoners in Carrick.—Reſolved that the 20 ſociety be granted one Conſtitution, and No. 11, for them ſplit, as that number was never filled.—Reſolved that no ſecretary of ſocieties or committees give any reports they may receive to any perſon but in the ſociety or committee, and if any perſon be preſent not belonging to ſaid ſociety or committee, that they will not give the report in preſence of the ſtranger.

Reſolved, that we recommend to the military battallion to appoint men that can work field-pieces.

The 1ſt diviſion recommended to all ſocieties not to have any thing to ſay to father and ſon, name of Procter Sawyers.

Paper writing seized and identified by Mr. Atkinson,

No. 1.

	Provintial Report.				Prisoners.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Antrim -	22039	50	11	6½	50	11	6½
Down -	23769	75	—	9½	75	—	9½
Derry -	10000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Armagh -	12273	44	10	—	22	15	—
Donegal -	9648	25	—	—	15	1	1½
Monaghan -	3075	17	4	6	—	—	—
Tyrone -	12169	22	10	2	11	5	1
Lowth -	3438	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cavan -	1000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fermanagh -	2000	—	—	—	—	—	—
	99411	234	17	—	174	13	6½
For 8000 constitutions -		13	13	—			
To the Executive -		—	10	5½			
		234	17	—			

Antrim,

Antrim, Armagh, Down, Lowth.

Guns	Bayonets	Piſtols	Swords	Pikes
6346	2536	465	202	3816

Ball Cartridge	Balls	Powder	Cannon	Blunderbuſſes
20774	31699	1123	8	18

1 Mortar

The reports ſooner nor uſual on account of our friends being expected ſoon into Bantry; government is uſing all means in their power to put us into inſurrection, the Executive is taking proper meaſures to appoint proper officers. Mitchel the cows has got him in Dublin. no perſon to inſult yeomen on account of ſome of them turning out; ſet your face againſt bank notes and exciſe buſineſs as that is the beſt means to harraſs the government; the Executive requeſts the full returns of men and arms and means of defence as in caſe if our friends not coming, but there is no danger for to no our own ſtrength. Lienſter commit. on Sunday laſt met, but we could have no return of provintial report that each county takes it to account to make friends of Catholics and Orange men as it is doing a great daal of good in Armagh.

Antrim 22480—44l. 2s. 1½d.—voluntary 203l. 16s. 3½d.

Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Pikes.	B.Cartridge.
2675 —	1267 —	302 —	245 —	3610 —	19919

Balls.	Powder.	Cannon.	Mortar.
53869 —	900½ —	8 —	1

Reſolved,

Reſolved, that each county member brings entilligance how wifes and children is to be ſupported.

Reſolved, that 35l. 5s. 2½d. be got for the enſuing month, try al of friends 168l. 11s.

	£.	s.	d.
Forward to provincial committee -	34	2	6
Provincial expenſes - -	5	19	2
Treaſurer's hands - - -	4	—	5½
	44	2	1

Three perſons in each diviſional comm. to ſettle any buſineſs betwixt united Iriſhmen, upper Tomb reported, Samuel Anderſon, James Murray, Gilbert Clark, John Harris formed a ſecret comm. to deſtroy united Iriſh, and Harris opened the plot againſt the whole.

Reſolved, that Dundaſs Mil. movement or other publication ſhould be read by Mil. officers.

	£.	s.	d.
Voluntary ſubſcription from 1ſt diviſion	158	11	5½

Guineas.

Do. for mounting cannon -	26
2 diviſion for cannon - -	3
9 diviſion - - - -	1½
10 do. - - - -	1
Total -	31

Devlin

Devlin } and Haughner } bad men.
Artilery } Militia. }

Reſolved, that voluntery ſubſcription to be paid next meeting.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox,

No. 5.

A report from the military committee received as ſuch; you are to let the officers know their men and the men their officers, and do not fail to engage them in a ſolemn manner that they may call them out on one minute's warning, and they may by that means endeavour to ſee them armed in the moſt ſpeedy manner; there is no time to be loſt, for the grand committee think that if one of the priſoners we let them be hanged we ſhould forfeit our intention for evermore, for we know not the minute we'll be called on to give an account: for our friends is hourly expected.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox,

No. 10.

COUNTY REPORTS, 11th April 1797.

They received from the ariſtocrats of Belfaſt 374l. 4s. 6d. which was laid out as follows:

Paid the committee appointed to attend the Priſoners of this circuit - -	283	15	0
Paid into the hands of different people to attend the priſoners out of this circuit -	90	9	6
	374	4	6
Received from the ſocieties of this county as a voluntary ſubſcription -	356	10	2

which was paid to the committee for the priſoners uſe; the provincial reports that they have uſed every means to defend the priſoners at the time of trial.

Men.	Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Pikes.
22,716	2,948	1,536	417	397	4,888

B. Cartridges.	Balls.	lbs. Powder.	Canon.	Mortar.
24,911	70,943	1,230	8	1

Belfaſt

Belfaſt Town	-	482	17	6	12	14	1
Upper Do.	-	38	6	1½	9	2	—
Lower Do.	-	22	6	10½	—	—	—
Upper Maſereene	-	9	14	11½	—	—	—
Lower Do.	-	28	12	8	—	—	—
Upper Antrim	-	83	9	0	—	—	—
Lower Do.	-	14	10	5½	—	—	—
Upper Toome	-	1	14	1½	—	—	—
Lower Do.	-	16	16	4½	3	13	0½
Upper Dunluce	-	3	5	9	—	—	—
Lower Do.	-	—	—	—	1	16	0
Upper Glenarm	-	18	12	3	—	—	—
Lower Do.	-	15	12	4½	—	—	—
Kilconway	-	11	6	5	—	—	—
Kerry	-	4	0	6	—	16	7
		730	14	8½	28	1	8½

The reaſon why there was not more monthly money paid was that the people thought it rather early in the month.

Reſolved, that the Provincial form a plan for the ſupport of poor families, that they get us the number of Defenders in the kingdom who are not U. I. and if they will act in concert with U. I.

Fulton

Fulton and M'Cormick, who was reported ſome time ago to behave improperly, was tried and found innocent of that charge. John Kennedy from Crew brother-in-law to Hy. Sinclair of N. Street in Belfaſt, is very bad, and came here for the purpoſe of getting information. William Pale, a deſerter, Kinly Shilock. blackſmith of Duncathery, Robert M'Clelland from Ballymena, and John Love an attorney of do. is all very bad and ought to be guarded againſt.

Reſolved, that we again declare it highly improper to hold any communication with people out of ſociety without they are well known.

Reſolved, that a committee of 7 be appointed to lay out the money for the priſoners to the amount of 200l. —66 conſtitutions was granted at this meeting.

That it be recommended to all ſocieties that is wealthy to enter into a vol. ſub. for the purpoſe of arming our poor fellow citizens.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Lt. Elliſon,

No. 1.

11th April 1797.

COUNTY REPORT.

	Men.	Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.
Antrim.	22,716	2,248	1,748	417	363

Piſtols.	Pikes.
363	4,888

Subſcription.

Subſcription.

Town Belfaſt	482	17	6	Upper Do.	2	0	0
Lower	22	6	10½				
Upper Mazerine	9	14	11	Lower Do.	26	12	10
Upper Antrim	83	12	0	Lower Antrim	14	13	0
Upper Toom	1	14	0½	Lower	16	16	4
Upper Dinluſe	3	5	7	Lower Do.	1	16	0
Upper Glenarm	18	12	3	Lower Glenarm	5	2	4
Kilconoury	1	6	3	Keary	4	6	7
				Total	693	8	9½

A voluntary ſubſcription got from the araſtorrick - - -	374	4	6
Paid to the North weſt Sirkiet -	90	9	6
To Do. the North Eſt Do. -	283	15	4

Recommended to the Provenſal Ct. to form a plan of proviſion for poor mens familys during our exhoſthings in the field. Fulton and M'Cormick afirs is ſettled. Jno. brother-in-low to Hy. Sinclair from Crew, Kinly Sherlick Dimanry is a bad man and is wery dangeries to the cauſe. John Love belly moner a bad man very dangers to the cauſe. A riſulition we again declare it that it highly improper to hold any communication with perſons out of ſociety, not nowing them to be regular members. Reſolved that 7 members out of this etc. be choſen he will be appointed he ſhall have full power to vot away any ſums of money not exeding 200l. if in your hands, if in there hands for the ſeport of the provenſal priſiners. Laſt meeting 66 Ct. voted away.

 Beroniel,

Beroniel, Reſolved that it is recommended to the different ſocietys that is able to enter into a voluntary ſubſcription for the uſe of arming thoſe that is not able.

Appendix No. III. That theſe reports are generally circulated thro' the ſocieties is further proved by a paper taken by a magiſtrate in a diſtant part of the county of Antrim; and another paper taken in the county of Down near Portaferry from a perſon who acknowledged himſelf to be a ſecretary, on or about the 8th of November. The time of their forming themſelves into military bodies is aſcertained by this paper; and it is to be obſerved that the yeomanry corps eſtabliſhed by Parliament about the ſame time were reſiſted and oppoſed in thoſe parts of the kingdom where the United Iriſhmen appeared to have been moſt active.

Appendix No. IV. It appears from a variety of evidence that no means are neglected for eſtabliſhing their conſtitution and enforcing an obedience to their laws; that contributions are levied to defray the expences of the ſociety; that threats and intimidations are employed againſt witneſſes and jury-men as a means to prevent their aſſociates from being brought to juſtice; and that a committee is appointed to defray the expences of defending ſuch as are brought to trial or are in priſon; that the aſſiſtance of the French is expected and held forth as negotiated for; that at Belfaſt alone exiſt 80 ſocieties at leaſt; and that emiſſaries are employed to extend theſe ſocieties; that arms and ammunition are procured, pikes bought, officers appointed, military diſcipline recommended and enforced by oaths to be taken by officers and men; proviſion for the families of their ſociety during their exertions in the field; that ſuſpected perſons are brought to account for their actions, and it has been ſtated in evidence that a tribunal is appointed for this purpoſe who try the offen-

Appendix No. V.

ders

ders in their abſence and determine their puniſhment even to death.

The committee forbear from ſtating individual inſtances of outrage and aſſaſſination which have appeared to them in evidence, as they may become the ſubjects of trial in the courts of juſtice; and for the ſame reaſon your committee refrain from ſtating the parol evidence that has been laid before them reſpecting the attempts to ſeduce the military; the committee think it their duty to ſtate the fact of ſuch attempts having been made, and at the ſame time to repreſent, that in their opinion thoſe attempts are ſo far from having been attended with the ſucceſs that was expected by thoſe who practiſed them, that the committee feel themſelves fully warranted in expreſſing the firmeſt reliance on the zeal and loyalty of his Majeſty's troops.

Your committee is inclined to believe that the numbers of the perſons ſtated in the returns of the ſeveral counties are conſiderably overrated; for it has been ſtated to them in evidence, that every artifice is uſed to keep up their ſpirits by exaggerated reports of their ſtrength and power.

Upon the whole, dangerous and alarming as this conſpiracy appears to be, your committee is induced to believe the degrees of criminality in the individuals who compoſe it are very different, as it appears to have been a principle with the authors of this inſtitution to cloak their real deſign under falſe colours.

At the ſame time your committee think it neceſſary to ſtate as their decided opinion, upon a review of the whole evidence that has been laid before the committee, that a complete revolution and confiſcation of property and the eſtabliſhment of a republick upon French principles,

ciples, are the real objects of this conſpiracy, and not an amelioration of the preſent conſtitution.

From the importance of the matter contained in this report your committee have thought it their duty to loſe no time in laying it before the houſe, and are proceeding in their enquiries.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

" IN the preſent great æra of reform, when unjuſt governments are falling in every quarter of Europe, when religious perſecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience, when the rights of man are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſubſtantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend abſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common ſenſe and common intereſts of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare, we think it our duty as Iriſhmen to come forward and ſtate what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

" We have no National Government.

" We are ruled by Engliſhmen and the ſervants of Engliſhmen, filled as to commerce and politics with the ſhort-ſighted and ignorant prejudices of their country, and theſe men have the whole of the power and patronage of Ireland as means to ſeduce and to ſubdue the honeſty and the ſpirit of her repreſentatives in the legiſlature; ſuch an extrinſic power acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently oppoſite to the true line of our obvious intereſts can be reſiſted with effect ſolely by *unanimity, deciſion and ſpirit in the people*: Qualities which may be exerted moſt legally, conſtitutionally and efficaciouſly by that great meaſure eſſential to the proſperity and freedom of Ireland, *A more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament.*

" We do not here mention as a grievance, the rejection of " a place bill, of a penſion bill, of a reſponſibility bill, the " ſale of peerages in one houſe, the corruption publicly avowed " in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic be- " tween both: not that we do not feel their enormity, but that " we conſider them but as ſymptoms of that mortal diſeaſe " which corrodes the vitals of our conſtitution and leaves to " the people in their own government but a ſhadow of a " a name.

" Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we the underſigned have " agreed to form an aſſociation, to be called " and we do pledge ourſelves as citizens " and as ſoldiers to our country and mutually to each other, " that we will ſteadily ſupport and endeavour by all due means " to carry into effect the following reſolutions:

" 1ſt. Reſolved, that the conſtitution of Ireland exiſts only " in theory, inaſmuch as the people are deprived of their na- " tural weight in the ſcale of government becauſe they are not " duly repreſented in parliament, and therefore that a more ge- " neral extenſion of the elective franchiſe is indiſpenſably ne- " ceſſary.

" 2d. Reſolved, that the weight of Engliſh influence in the " government of this country is ſo great as to require a cor- " dial union among the people to maintain that balance which " is eſſential to the preſervation of our liberties and the exten- " ſion of our commerce.

" 3d. Reſolved, that ſatisfied as we are that the true greatneſs " and happineſs of Ireland can ariſe ſolely from a complete in- " ternal union of *all her people*, we lament the miſtaken policy " which has ſo long divided them, and that we ſhall heartily " co-operate in all meaſures tending to the abolition of diſ- " tinctions between Iriſhmen, equally invidious and unjuſt, " and which have been uniformly the ſource of weakneſs and " miſery and diſgrace to the country.

" Such are the reſolutions which we propoſe as fundamental " principles; we have gone to what we conceive to be the root " of the evil, we have ſtated what we conceive to be the re- " medy.—With a reformed parliament every thing is eaſy, " without it nothing can be done, unleſs by means too violent

" for

" for the good people of this country, if not provoked beyond
" human ſufferance even to think on.

" And we do call on and moſt earneſtly exhort our brethern
" THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, who may *in fact* eſtabliſh
" as they have *in theory* reſtored the independence of their na-
" tive land: We call upon our countrymen in general to fol-
" low our example and to form ſimilar ſocieties in every quar-
" ter of the kingdom for the promotion of conſtitutional
" knowledge and the diſpenſation of *genuine whig principles*;
" the people when thus collected will feel their own weight
" and ſecure that power which theory has already admitted as
" their portion, and to which if they be not arouſed by their
" preſent provocations to vindicate it they deſerve to forfeit
" their pretenſions for EVER!

" The foregoing contain my true and ſincere opinion of the
" ſtate of this country *ſo far as in the preſent juncture it may
" be adviſeable to publiſh it.* They certainly fall ſhort of the
" truth, but truth itſelf muſt ſometimes condeſcend to tempo-
" rize: My unalterable opinion is that the bane of Iriſh proſ-
" perity is in the influence of England: I believe that influ-
" ence will ever be extended while the connexion between the
" countries continues; nevertheleſs, as I know that opinion is,
" *for the preſent*, too hardy, though a very little time may eſ-
" tabliſh it univerſally, I have not made it a part of the re-
" ſolutions, I have only propoſed to ſet up a reformed parlia-
" ament as a barrier againſt that miſchief which every honeſt
" man that will open his eyes muſt ſee in every inſtance over-
" bears the intereſt of Ireland: I have not ſaid one word that
" looks like a wiſh for *ſeparation*, though I give it to you and
" your friends as my moſt decided opinion that ſuch an event
" would be a regeneration to this country.

" I have, you will ſee, alluded to the reſolutions of the *whig
" club*, and I have differed with them *in degree only*, that is I
" think, and I am ſure they do not go far enough, *they are not
" ſincere friends to the popular cauſe*; they dread the people as
" much as the caſtle does. It may be objected that an implied
" difference of ſentiment between them and the people will
" weaken both—I think otherwiſe; if they do not join you in
" ſupporting a reform in parliament they do not deſerve ſup-
" port themſelves: Apply the touchſtone; if they ſtand the

" trial,

" trial, well; if they fail they are falſe and hollow, and the " ſooner they are detected the better. What ſignifies peddling " with their ſuperficial meaſures? They are good *ſo far as they* " *go*, but for the people to ſpend their ſtrength in purſuit of " ſuch would be juſt as wiſe as for a man who has a mortifi- " cation in his bowels to be very ſolicitous about a plaiſter for " his fore finger.—To be candid, I dare ſay that my lord Char- " lemont, and I am pretty ſure that Mr. Grattan, would heſi- " tate very much at the reſolutions which I ſend; but I only " beg you will diſmiſs your reſpect for great names, read over the " reſolutions and what I have now ſaid, and then determine im- " partially between us. I have alluded to the catholics, but ſo " remotely as I hope not to alarm the moſt cautious proteſtant; " it is wicked nonſenſe to talk of a reform in Ireland in which " they ſhall not have their due ſhare.

" I have in the third reſolution conceded very far indeed to " what I conſider as vulgar and ignorant prejudices: Look at " France and America. The pope burnt in effigy at Paris, " the Engliſh catholics at this very hour feceding from his " church: A thouſand arguments croud on me, but it is un- " neceſſary here to dwell on them. I hope you will find this " reſolution ſufficiently guarded and cool. I have been pur- " poſely vague and indefinite, and I muſt ſay men who would " ſeek a reform and omit that indiſpenſible ſtep, have different " notions both of expediency and juſtice from any that I can " conceive.

" I think the beſt opportunity for publiſhing them will be on " the 14th July; I learn there is to be a commemoration of " the French revolution, that Morning ſtar of liberty to Ireland; " the volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may then adopt it, " and I have ſo worded it as to leave them an opportunity; I " have left, as you ſee, a blank for the name, which I am " clearly of opinion ſhould be the Society of United Iriſh- " men."

No. II.

Declaration of a Society, calling themſelves a Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, 9th November 1791, being ſimilar to that of a Society in Belfaſt.

" IN the preſent great æra of reform, when unjuſt governments are falling in every quarter of *Europe*, when religious perſecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience, when the rights of men are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſubſtantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend abſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common ſenſe and common intereſts of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty, as Iriſhmen, to come forward and ſtate what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

" We have no National Government.

" We are ruled by Engliſhmen and the ſervants of Engliſhmen, whoſe object is the Intereſt of another country, whoſe inſtrument is corruption, whoſe ſtrength is the weakneſs of Ireland, and theſe men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country as means to ſeduce and ſubdue the honeſty and the ſpirit of her repreſentatives in the legiſlature. Such an extrinſic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently oppoſite to the true line of our obvious intereſts, can be reſiſted with effect ſolely by unanimity, deciſion and ſpirit in the people, qualities which may be exerted moſt legally, conſtitutionally and efficaciouſly by that great meaſure eſſential to the proſperity and freedom of Ireland,—An equal Repreſentation of all the People in Parliament.

" We do not here mention as grievances the rejection of a " place bill, of a penſion bill, of a reſponſibility bill, the ſale " of peerages in one houſe, the corruption publickly avowed " in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic " between both; not that we are inſenſible of their enormity, " but that we conſider them as but ſymptoms of that mortal " diſeaſe which corrodes the vitals of our conſtitution, and " leaves to the people in their own government but the ſhadow " of a name.

" Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments we have agreed to form an " aſſociation, to be called The Society of United Iriſhmen, " and we do pledge ourſelves to our country, and mutually to " each other, that we will ſteadily ſupport and endeavour by " all due means to carry into effect the following reſolu- " tions:

" 1. Reſolved, that the weight of Engliſh influence in the " government of this country is ſo great as to requite a cor- " dial union among All the People of Ireland, to maintain " that balance which is eſſential to the preſervation of our li- " berties and the extenſion of our commerce.

" 2. That the ſole conſtitutional mode by which this in- " fluence can be oppoſed is by a compleat and radical Reform " of the repreſentation of the people in Parliament.

" 3. That no reform is practicable, efficacious or juſt which " ſhall not include Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion.

" Satisfied as we are that the inteſtine diviſions among " Iriſhmen have too often given encouragement and impunity " to audacious and corrupt adminiſtrations in meaſures which " but for theſe diviſions they durſt not have attempted, we " ſubmit our reſolutions to the nation as the baſis of our poli- " tical faith.

" We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the " evil; we have ſtated what we conceive to be the remedy: " With a Parliament thus reformed every thing is eaſy; with- " out it nothing can be done; and we do call on and moſt " earneſtly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our

" example,

" example, and form ſimilar ſocieties in every quarter of the " kingdom for the promotion of conſtitutional knowledge, the " abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal " diſtribution of the Rights of Man throughout all ſects and " denominations of Iriſhmen.

" The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, " and ſecure that power which theory has already admitted as " their portion, and to which, if they be not arouſed by their " preſent provocations to vindicate it they deſerve to forfeit " their pretenſions for ever.

" JAMES NAPPER TANDY, Secretary."

T E S T.

" I, A. B. in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to my " country that I will uſe all my abilities and influence in the " attainment of an impartial and adequate repreſentation of " the Iriſh nation in Parliament; and as a means of abſolute " and immediate neceſſity in the eſtabliſhment of this chief " good of Ireland, I will endeavour as much as lies in my " ability to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of " intereſts, a communion of rights and an union of power " among Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions, without which " every reform in Parliament muſt be partial, not national, " inadequate to the wants, deluſive to the wiſhes, and inſuffi- " cient for the freedom and happineſs of this country."

No. III.

No. III.

Paper writing taken by a Magiſtrate in a diſtant Part of the County of Antrim.

Minutes of the County Proceedings.

	Men.	Guns.	Piſt.	Pks.	Balls.	Powder.
U. B.	1500	191	5	700	3000	7
Town do.	2639	526	88	567	28083	569
L. B.	1088	197	24	60	1550	12
U. A.	1801	200	—	435	Bay 160	
L. A.	1800	105	—	113		
U. M.	1540	30	11	40		
U. T.	1844	239	14	65		
L. T.	2074	361	24		2074	
U. D.	2000	300			3000	
L. D.	1521	30	10			13
U. G.	722	156	19	42		27
L. G.	950	20	10	6		
K.	392	42				
C.	1030	62				
Total -	22039	2659	205	2848	42520	628½

Cannon, eight 6 pounders.

T. B.

T. B. 12l. 13s. 8½d. U. B. 12l. 7s. 4d. L. B. 18s. —½d. U. A. 3l. 5s. 11d. L. A. 2l. 6s. 2d. L. M. U. M. 1l. 15s. 6d. U. T. 8l. 17s. 8d. L. T. —— L. D. 2l. 9s. 6d. L. D. U. G. L. G. K. 10s. C. 1l. 14s. 1½d. Total paid in 46l. 8s. 4d.

C. Antrim 20942. D. 15000. Derry 10000. T. 6600. Ar. 4000. M. 3200. Don^{l}. 5088. Cavin 1000. Meath 1776. Fer. 2000. Louth 2600.—Total 72206. An. 78l. 6s. 8d. D. 40l. Derry 8l. 5s. 9d. Ar. 7l. 8s. 5d. Don. 9l. 9s. 7d. Total 144l. 2s. 1½d. Caſh paid to Antrim Priſioners 78l. 6s. 8d. D. 11l. 7s. 6d. Ty. 7l. 19s. 3d. Delegates 2l. 5s. 6d. Total 99l. 18s. 11d. Ball^{ce}. 44l. 3s. 2½d.

Provincial Returns.

Countys formed into a noth^{r}. P. C. viz. Weſtth. Killd^{r}. Dub. Co. D. D. Cy. above Co. are organ^{d}. D. dowing well, D. Cy. divided into 4 Diſt. yr. Ex^{ve}. give no other report then the organ^{s}. of the above not having latly met a report to be given from P. Com . next meeting. Newry citz. have been very gen^{rs}. their privets ſubſcrp^{n}. are 21. 11. 0. beſides large vol^{y}. ſub^{crs} to their Co. have employ'd dell^{ts}. to go to Cavan and Letrim Cos. are formed and doing will, expence 17s. Cap. St. Legar of 24 dragoons confind in Ar. jail for Ex^{ve}. com. D. Ball. ſent to him to diſtribute, a wife

q

and 4 chil^{n}. pay taken from him. When Co. expencs are pd. Ball. are to go to the P. Com^{te}. a number of men taken from Co. Tyrone was Co. mem^{rs}. Total 25. 7gs. for their ſupport voted, and they promiſe reſtit^{n}. next month. The Kilrea buſineſs to be recommended to the P. Com^{tee}. for the opinion. Mr. Briſtow of B. knows our provinc^{l}. meetings too well. Armagh appointed a com^{tee} of 5 to take care of their priſioners. Co. Mon. have caſh in hand. Co. D. 50 conſt. from T. of Newry and collecting mony faſt wh. will ſhortly be pd. in D. forwarding the buſineſs to Meath and Killdear, 15 conſt^{ns}. ſent to do. place. The Co. Ant. at this time is deffi-cet in their ſubſcrip^{n}. Co. Down pays 90l. m. to the pris^{rs}. and to the P. Com^{te}. The priſioners in Carick 29 are paid 1 guin. each for 2 laſt months. 2 G. Coats by a Mrs. McClellan to poor ſol^{d}. and 9 guis. to 9 of pooreſt ſort.

U. Iriſhmen are warned not to cut timber that does not belong to themſelves on any acc^{t}. for if the be proſecuted for the ſame they will not meet with any ſupport whatever, as it brings a reproach on the cauſe. They are alſo warned ag^{t}. partial inſurrections of every kind, but to be obedient to the preſent laws by a prudent and ſober conduct, for by perſevering in union we will at length work our own freedom in ſpite of all oppoſition. As ſoon as the South is properly organ^{d}. a National Convention will be eſtabliſhed, which is expected ſoon to take place.

Equal Liberty and Juſtic is the Equality only to be fought by us.

No. IV.

No. IV.

Paper-writing taken near Portaferry in the County of Down, on or about 8th November 1796.

At a Baronial Meeting, October 22d, the County and Provincial Returns, &c.

Lower Caſtlereigh -	3020	
Upper Caſtlereigh -	1098	
Kilnarty - -	1299	
Differin - -	570	
Ards - -	2475	
Upper Iveigh -	1165	
Lower Iveigh -	1327	
Lecale - -	62	
Down -	11016	

Caſh received 22l. 3s. 2d. paid of that - - £ 3 8 3

— 16 5

Voted for the relief of the Priſoners - 14 15 9

19 — 5

3 2 9

Provincial

Provincial Returns as follows :

Antrim - -	15000	£	47	15	6
Derry - -	3696				
Tyrone - -	4355	13	1	7	
	20	9	6	Down Sepr. caſh	
	34067	11	2	6	In treaſrs. hands
	5	6	1	Rems. in Province	
	97	14	8	The whole of which was voted to the Execut. Committee.	

Reports in the following Places :

Donegal - -	2000
Armagh - -	1000
Louth - -	1600
Monaghan -	1000
Cork -	1600
Meath, Weſtmeath, Kildare, Dublin } -	16000
Total -	57267

Reſolved on the following word and ſign : the under button of the waiſtcoat to be taken out with the right hand, ſaying "See."

Anſwer. Take out two under buttons with left hand, ſaying "What."

Report

Report of the Select Committee, Resolutions, &c.

Resolved, that one committee for this county be sufficient; one delegate to be sent from each division of baronies.

Resolved, that it is recommended to the different societies to enter into liberal subscriptions, for by the monthly subscriptions for the relief of our friends prisoners in this county gaol, as a safe communication is found thereto.

Resolved, that it is recommended to the divisions of baronies, societys, &c. to form themselves into military bodies and chuse their own officers.

Resolved, that at this very alarming period of proscription by tyrants, we should more than ever persevere in forwarding that brotherhood of affection we so solemnly pledged ourselves to, and to be punctual in paying finance, viz. one penny each member per month.

Communications.—Four new societies organized in Scotland; eight more constitutions left; formed a baronial committee. County Kerry militia required one hundred constitutions for their own use; a few constitutions in Downshire, and a good many united.

Moved and seconded, that thirteen guineas of this county money received to-day be given to our county secretary to be paid to the relief of our friends prisoners, according to their different necessities.

Moved and seconded, for instructions to provincial delegates to move at their first committee that the provincial executive committee do be empowered to carry on the trials of all our friends in the different counties who are there prosecuted.

As ſoon as our friends arrived in Dublin there was a deputation came to Belfaſt to know if they ſhould be liberated, as they had it in their power.

Report of a ſmuggler out; if ſhe arrives ſafe there will be plenty of

Adjourned until in at the houſe of at the hour of ten o'clock.

No. V.

No. V.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, No. 4.

" I, A. B. do voluntarily ſwear that I will not call upon " this ſociety but when regularly called upon by my ſuperior " officers, and that I will be true and honeſt to the men " under my command."

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, No. 6.

" I, A. B. do voluntarily ſwear that I will turn out when " regularly called on by my officers, and that I will obey " them in all that is lawful and not otherwiſe."

REPORT

FROM

Committee of Secrecy.

REPORTED BY THE

Rt. Hon. Mr. SECRETARY PELHAM,

10th May 1797.